WILSHIRE'S

"LET THE NATION OWN THE TRUSTS"

GAYLORD WILSHIRE
-Editor-

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The MacNamara Brothers' Confession

FRANKLY, I think that the fact that the evidence against the McNamaras was so strong that they were compelled to confess is one of the luckiest a ccidents for the Socialist Party.

I myself had been practically convinced for quite a while of their guilt. That my belief last summer was crystallising to that conclusion was evidenced by my article in the September edition of this Magazine, which I herewith reproduce:—

"Socialists, in the eagerness to defend everyone connected with the labor movement from every possible charge, should not lose their heads in their zeal.

"We may say with confidence that the men charged with blowing up the Los Angeles 'Times' building were men devoting their lives to the cause of labor. However, that declaration does not carry with it the conclusion that it would be impossible under any circumstances for them to have used force to bring round a recalcitrant employer, especially when we consider the merry old scoundrel they were fighting.

"Force has certainly been used at other times by labor in its fights with Capital, and used successfully, too, for that matter. There is no doubt but that the fear of injury to property by strikers, either direct or indirect, has won many a strike. If a strike did not injure an employer why should he ever give in?

"Is it not illogical that, occasionally, some men seeking to force an employer to accede to terms should threaten him with injury? Certainly not, and the only reason why they would not carry the threat into execution would be fear of greater injury to the cause.

"The Los Angeles strikers are only human, and we must not set them upon a pedestal, taking the position that it is absurd and impossible to conceive of their having had anything to do with injuring the 'Times' building. May be they did, more probably they did not.

"On the other hand, we know that Otis and his gang would stoop to anything in order to inculpate them, guilty or not guilty. We even think that it is not an impossible suggestion that Otis had his own building blown up. He would if he thought that would have helped him win. We also know that there is quite a doubt as to whether the building was not accidentally blown up by gas instead of dynamite, and that no one was to blame for the explosion.

"Finally, we know that the men under indictment were illegally kidnapped and taken to California, and that procedure in itself is strong presumptive evidence that the prosecution had no evidence to justify extradition.

"The August number of 'McClure's' has an article on the subject written by Harvey J. O' Higgins that is certainly very convincing that McNamara was more or less conversant with the pursuit of dynamiting, if we accept the abstract facts as given. But we don't accept the 'facts.' We know that 'facts' are not so very difficult of manufacture when the capitalist wishes to get labor on the hip, and they are naturally *convincing* facts, otherwise they would be of no value.

"However, a reading of the article indicates that the trial is going to be no picnic for the defence. Whether the evidence is manufactured or otherwise, it is certainly going to be strong evidence with a jury.

"We must remember that in the Haywood-Moyer case the prosecution relied upon the testimony of one man only, Orchard. The story hung together pretty well upon cross-examination, its great weakness being the lack of corroboration.

"Clarence Darrow really based his defence in his speech to the jury far more upon the plea that the men if guilty had great justification than he did upon the theory of the impossibility of their guilt.

"Now in the McNamara case we must look for a far stronger case than was presented against Haywood. We must remember, too, that, if McManigle has really confessed, he is a man who will carry far more weight than that poor degenerate Harry Orchard.

"The defendants have a hard case to win, and those that sympathise with the aspirations of labor would do well to put their shoulders to the wheel in their aid and Do it Now.

"If guilty they have risked their necks for the sake of the cause of labor, risked them in a foolish reprehensible way, we may say, but nevertheless, they were fighting the fight. We may sympathise with their aim and at the same time denounce their methods—provided they are guilty, which we do not believe—as brutal and cowardly, and as being far more apt to injure than aid their cause.

"If they are innocent, and in the light of the facts so far brought forward we think they are innocent, then we say that their kidnapping and indictment upon manufactured evidence

goes far to show how perilous is the path of those who dare to stand against the rule of the American dollar.

"But innocent or guilty, we consider that the industrial conditions in America which make the possibility of such a crime as being in the least plausible is a damning indictment of the capitalist system.

"It is to be remembered that the defendants are not members of the Socialist Party, nor are they Socialists. If they were it would be quite impossible for Socialists to conceive of their guilt. Not because they would be better men, but because the whole philosophy of Socialism is opposed to the use of force by individuals against individuals to redress social evils.

"We know that the only remedy of a social wrong is social action. The Los Angeles 'Times' is a typical representative of the present social system, and that the true method of attacking it effectively is by the ballot.

"Let California vote for Socialism; let her establish shorter hours and a minimum wage for printers as for all wage-earners, and there would be no reason for the craziest worker to think of coercing employers by dynamite.

"If the men are guilty then all the more reason for California preventing further outrages by voting for Socialism.

"If the men are not guilty, then in order to prevent a condition which might lead men to crime and dynamite in order to get a living wage California should vote for Socialism.

"Meanwhile, it is up to all true friends of labor to stand shoulder to shoulder and see that the accused have an absolutely fair trial. Let there be No Repetition of the Haymarket."

I say it is lucky we have a confession, for that precludes any futile attempt of misguided Socialists to make fools of us and heroes of the McNamaras, convicted or not convicted, upon the theory that they had suffered an unjust accusation.

As for blaming the McNamaras for not at once confessing guilt, that is absurd. They had used every method to cover their tracks, and naturally thought that proof of their guilt would not be forthcoming. It would have been absolutely inconsistent for them to have confided to Gompers that they were really guilty. A confession to him would have meant the withdrawal of his support, and that practically would have meant a confession to the world. Men trying to save their necks are not likely to confess their deeds in order that another man may escape the possibility of a mortifying position.

What's mortification alive to mortification dead? What?

And all this shriek from Gompers about their having betrayed the labor movement is rot. They were fools enough to risk their necks by committing murder for their cause, and murder was the very worst tactics they could have employed.

In reality their crime was just as much a political one as any assassination of a Russian Czar. There was no thought of personal gain and there was the knowledge of great risk.

We may condemn the crime as much as we like, but the fear that the proving of it upon the McNamaras, after we had been so vociferously declaring the impossibility of their guilt, may give a serious set-back to the party vote should not make us such cowards that we must forthwith join Gompers and denounce the McNamaras as traitors.

They have placed themselves in a dangerous position and us in a foolish one, but they are no more traitors to labour than Lincoln's assassin, Booth, was a traitor to the South.

That they, both the McNamaras and Booth, desperately injured the causes to which they were devoted is obvious, but the word traitor is not the epithet to apply to them if I know anything of the meaning of words.

However, I have no doubt that those who last week could see no possibility of their being anything except spotless angels will henceforth consider them the blackest of devils.

Once more deliver us, oh, God, from our friends. The whole trouble with Socialists is that they judge men by their hearts rather than their heads. And, moreover, they will not allow their own editors to tell them an unwelcome truth without crucifying them. Why, even that very mild editorial of my own which I have just quoted brought me a torrent of abuse such as Gompers and Mitchell are now pouring on the McNamaras.

John Stuart Mill said that the greatest difference between one intellect and another was the ability to judge correctly of evidence. to know when a thing is proved and when it is not. I would suggest that Mill did not place the seat of intellect in the heart.

Socialists are like everyone else, they hire editors to tell them what they want to believe, and they get the goods all right.

I hope that this will be the last of the dynamiting in America, and I further hope that if any more should occur that the event will not be exploited for either votes or yearly subscriptions, anyway not until the evidence is all in.

If anyone thinks that this McNamara confession is going to give a set-back to Socialism I would tell him that he might as well look for the sun to for ever cease shining because of a passing thundercloud.

The growth of Socialism does not depend nearly as much upon good or bad men as it does upon Teddy's good and bad Trusts.

Socialism is the result of the industrial revolution, and dynamite will neither retard its growth nor, on the other hand, accelerate its advent.

The McNamaras were not and are not Socialists, and they used dynamite as a punishment for the individual employer with no thought of changing the present order of society.

The Socialists have always condemned the crime; their sole mistake has been the impossible task in practically pledging the future of Socialism upon proving a guilty man innocent.

Next time they will not be so precipitous.

Does Socialism mean "Good Government"?

Writing in the "Journal of Political Economy," on "The Rising Tide of Socialism," Professor Robert F. Hoxie finds that the number of Socialists elected to and now holding office in the United States is not less than 435—chiefly as follows: 1 Congressman, 1 State senator, 16 State representatives, 28 mayors, village presidents and township chairmen, 167 aldermen, councillors and village trustees; 62 school officers; 23 city or town clerks and treasurers. The remainder are sheriffs, coroners, supervisors, and so on. These Socialists were elected in 160 municipalities or election districts, scattered in 33 States, Milwaukee being the only large city they have won.

This roster of Socialist officeholders is interesting. Theoretically Socialism is the most ambitious of political programs, involving nothing short of a whole-nation-wide—or world-wide—revolution; but, except a solitary Congressman and 17 members of State legislatures, Socialists so far have been elected only to local offices, and those usually of an administrative rather than legislative nature—elected, that is, not to bring in a brand-new, all-embracing revolutionary program, but to work the lumbering old bourgeois machine in a little honester, more intelligent, kindlier manner perhaps than some Republican or Democrat would work it.

Designing a new world is more fascinating than scrubbing off some small particular dirtspot on the old one—but less practical.

The foregoing is an editorial from the "Saturday Evening Post." The "Post" is pretty straight in its economics of Socialism, but it is evidently considerably off in its knowledge of Socialist politics.

As a matter of fact, the successful Socialist candidates altogether owe their success almost to the ideal of the future co-operative commonwealth stirring the enthusiasm of the voters rather than any desire for local reforms.

If a man wishes to express himself politically as being in favor of Socialism, he can only do so by voting. As he has no chance to vote upon a Referendum "Shall we have Socialism?" he must express his Socialist views by voting the nominee of the Socialist Party. He votes for a Socialist pound-keeper not because he is dissatisfied with the present incumbent pound-keeper, but because that is his only way of voting for Socialism.

I would venture to say that practically none of the Socialist Mayors and Aldermen were elected in towns where the revolt against the local politicians was especially marked.

Certainly if Socialist successes were a revolt against local conditions, it is very strange that we should see such a great Socialist vote in Los Angeles, one of the very few cities in the United States where a Good Government Mayor, and a satisfactory one, was the incumbent. It seems to me that the example of Los Angeles is alone sufficient answer to the editor of the "Post." However, it may be remarked that he wrote before he had heard of the Los Angeles primary results.

Socialism is sweeping over the country like one of the great religious revivals of the days before the war. The following about the Los Angeles election from that admirable little paper, "The Public," by Edmund Norton, is most suggestive:—

"The Good Government organisation is full of Georgean philosophy and principle. Among the Good Government people it is principally intellectual; among the Socialists it is chiefly spiritual and emotional. These two forces are near fusion, and the tremendous meaning will not long remain covered.

The moral and religious enthusiasm of the Socialist movement is the most remarkable phenomenon here. "Not in 30 years," said a prominent District Attorney from an adjoining city, "have I witnessed such truly religious fervour in a political campaign as is here." I can repeat his statement for myself. At the Fiesta Park mass meeting, Sunday before the primary election, there were massed around the square platform in the centre of the field some 6,000 to 10,000 people. On this platform came nine ex-ministers of the Gospel. "Down from God, through the Church, out to the people—as Jesus of Nazareth from the synagogues of the Jews to the multitudes on the shores of the Sea of Galilee," said my companion. Then we listened to an outpouring of Christian ethics, moral and social philosophy, such as I had not heard on the Pacific Coast in 30 years. It was a great religious revival, comparable to nothing that I can think of but the early meetings of the Anti-Poverty Society when Henry George and Doctor McGlynn electrified New York. There was Duncan, Mayor of Butte; and Wilson, Mayor of Berkeley; and Harriman, hoping to be Mayor of Los Angeles; and Cantrell, Irvine, Williams and others.

On the evening before the primary a monster parade, reported to number 21,000, passed through the principal streets of the city. Men, women and children—some of the children trundled in go-carts by their mothers—marched to the music of bands. No disorder, no intemperance. In fact, there is a large contingent of Prohibitionists here who have learned that poverty causes more drunkenness than drunkenness makes poverty.

It is impossible to tell it all.

We are here in the throes of a new French Revolution. It is modernised and Americanised for the twentieth century, with its Girondins and Jacobins in their various clubs; with its new "Insurrection of Women," and snowing the city under with the products of the "pamphleteer." It may yet have its Mirabeau, Danton and Robespierre, while Marat may be somewhere in cellar or garret marking down the names; but up to the present time none of these are clearly seen. The Physiocrats are everywhere; and over the State, instead of the weak and pitiable Louis XVII., we have a strong man who is not afraid of the people."

Socialism, as Bellamy says, is like a stork: it stands equally well on either leg, the economic one or the moral one.

But, while primarily the discussion of Socialism must naturally largely partake of the intellectual or the economic side, I have always maintained that the final phase will be an emotional one; the people will swing to Socialism because they will *feel* that it is right, and that right must prevail.

The first phase will be an appeal to the material nature of man, the second will be to the spiritual nature, and it is that phase upon which we are about to enter upon.

From the standpoint of common sense, the Prohibitionists should welcome high license rather than insisting upon an impossible total prohibition, but any compromise revolts their moral nature, and they stand and fall with their ideal.

From the common-sense point of view of the economists, now that destruction of the Trusts is being recognised to be impossible, the people should compromise and decide to regulate them, as Roosevelt and La Follette are now advising.

But the people have decided that the possession of huge fortunes by the few while the many are in poverty is morally wrong, and they will not, they cannot compromise. Their emotions are now too much aroused, and I venture to say that the switch will be from Destruction to Nationalisation rather than to Regulation.

It is not because Nationalisation will be seen to be better for them economically, but because it will appear to them as the moral course.

There may be a transition period when an attempt will be made to satisfy the people with promises of Regulation, but I doubt if the moral sense of the people will allow such a proposal to appear popular enough to receive the endorsement of our politicians whose ears are to the ground listening to the public pulse.

It is one thing to convince the people that Destruction of the Trust is an impossibility, but it is quite another thing to persuade them to live in the same house with what they have been taught to look upon as the epitome of all that is evil.

What politician would venture to endorse the national regulation of prostitution? Regulating the Trust means the prostitution of mankind to the God of Gold.

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Vol. XVI. FEBRUARY, 1912 No. 2.

Wilshire's P.O. Entry Again Withdrawn.

Our Post Office is the most useful tool of despotism. It can do the most dishonorable things against the people whom our irresponsible and irremovable President may dislike, and yet the victims can never manage to force him to accept direct responsibility for the acts of his servant the Postmaster-General.

Roosevelt posed as the champion of free speech, and yet, some ten years ago, when my entry was withdrawn by his Postmaster-General, and I appealed, he referred me back for justice to the very man against whom I had appealed.

Taft poses as all that's honorable, and yet I know perfectly well that he will be deaf and blind if I point out to him the dishonor of his Postmaster-General in now withdrawing my entry on a point that he specifically agreed not to raise.

This is the story. It occurred to me last summer that it would be simpler for me to have "Wilshire's Magazine" printed under my own personal supervision in London, during my sojourn there, rather than in New York. Correcting proofs 3,000 miles across the Atlantic has its drawbacks.

However, I knew that any move like that might give an opportunity to the Post Office to strike at me, so I decided to get them committed beforehand.

Congress made a law giving newspaper publishers the low postal rate of one cent per pound, upon the theory that if there were a loss made by the Post Office in the carriage that it was a loss worth while, because the editors were contributing to the education of the people, a value far greater than any possible loss. In other words, that the Press was looked upon as of the nature of a free public school, and it was thought by Congress only fair that part of the expense of the school should fall upon the nation.

It will be remarked that the cent a pound rate was not made in order to benefit the American printer, worthy as he may be, but the American editor. It was a bonus to the teacher, the editor.

There was nothing in the law that called for the printing of a paper in the United States, and considering the motive of the law, there was no reason to think that any such intent could be read into the law.

However, I was taking no chances with our slippery P.O., so I wrote to the Postmaster-General at Washington, stating that I contemplated printing my Magazine in London rather than in New York, and asked if such a move would in any way interfere with my second-class entry in New York provided I kept up my publication office in New York. Of course not, he said. Here is his letter :—

92893

Washington, D C , June 9, 1911.

Sir : In reply to your letter of the 5th instant, you are informed that the place where a periodical is printed does not affect its right to admission to the second-class of mail matter, so long as there is maintained therefor "a known office of publication" (see section 435 of the Postal Laws and Regulations, page 9 of enclosed pamphlet, Form 3,500) within the postal district of the post-office at which admission is desired.

Respectfully,
James J. Britt,
Third Assistant Postmaster General

ENC
CMD-b.

All plain English enough, is it not? The place where you print cuts no figure as long as you "maintain a known office of publication" in New York City, and this I have done.

Well, to make a long story short, the very first number printed in London, the November issue, upon presentation at the New York Office for mailing under the pound rate, was held up until the Postmaster-General could decide whether or no it was a "domestic publication and entitled to the second-class entry."

The gracious privilege was grudgingly allowed me, however, to post under the pound rates, provided I would put up a deposit sufficient to cover the third class, or higher rate, until a final decision was reached.

I am still waiting that decision, and depositing postage at third-class rates, but if my money is not forfeited and my entry withdrawn then my past experience with the P.O. has been no lesson to me.

Business is Business

The last time I was fired out of the Post Office I got back through a printer in New York, who wished to get the job of printing the "Magazine," protesting to Senator Platt about the iniquity of the P.O. driving business from this country into Canada.

This time I suppose some other New York printer wants the job that is now being given out in London, and he is pushing on the P.O.

This number went to press December 11. The March number will be out in due time no matter what the P.O. may decide about my entry.

Regulating the Trust Impossible

It is impossible to regulate the Trust for two reasons.

First, the people are determined to absolutely abolish private monopoly, and are too much aroused to its immorality to allow its continuance, and therefore they will not consent to regulation. It is morally impossible to Regulate the Trust.

Second, it is also economically impossible to regulate the Trust.

The Trust is the outward and visible sign of over-production of capital. This means that we cannot distribute what we can produce, and we cannot distribute because the competitive wage-system restricts the mass of the people to the minimum of subsistence. Over-production of capital foreshadows a great unemployed problem. The Trust is not the cause but the effect of this over-production. The cause is the competitive wage system, and the only method of solving the unemployed question is to substitute the co-operative system for the competitive system.

We cannot have the co-operative system unless we own the tools of production—viz., the Trusts.

Regulation of Trusts will not in the least tend to solve the coming great unemployed problem, and as that problem must be solved if this nation is to live, therefore we must adopt the only means possible to solve it—viz., Nationalise the Trusts.

The Los Angeles Defeat

It could hardly be expected after the confession of the McNamaras just three days before the election in Los Angeles that the raw recruits to the Socialist ranks who voted for Harriman at the primary 30 days previous would not make a precipitous retreat. As for the women, I never counted much on them anyway.

Unfortunately, Harriman was counsel for the McNamaras, and as the trial cut such a great feature in the campaign naturally when the confession came it knocked the vote.

There is no use of complaining that Harriman and the Socialists should have kept the McNamara case out of the election. They could not have done so even if they had wished, and considering the tremendous advertisement it gave them, it was only human nature for them to use the event as a vote-getter.

We must remember that in cases of this kind that men think with their hearts and not their heads. The McNamaras were labor leaders, and

Otis was the head of the capitalists, and it was but natural that the Socialists took the part of the McNamaras.

There can be no question now but that a great part of the big primary polled for Harriman came as the result of a belief that the McNamaras were victims of a conspiracy, and when the proof of their guilt came the vote faded.

However, it will come back. Once a man votes the Socialist ticket he is a different man than he was ever before, and when Harriman and the rest of our Los Angeles comrades rise from the dust of their defeat there will be formed a Party that the rise and fall of no one individual will ever defeat.

I am glad the confession came before the election. If Harriman had been elected prior thereto the voters would have felt they had been tricked, and having the recall at their hand, would have surely used it to retire him.

For Harriman to get 53,000 to Alexander's 85,000 is really remarkable considering all the circumstances. Those 53,000 are stayers.

The confession was no doubt, however, planned by the prosecution to take place just before the election in order to defeat Harriman. That the brothers should have consented to confess at that critical time shows that they are not particularly affected by Socialist sympathies, notwithstanding the great debt they owe to the Socialists who contributed so much to their able defence.

One thing the affair again proves is, that the way for labor to get its rights is through the ballot, and not through dynamite. This is what Socialists have always preached.

The confession undoubtedly gave Socialism a set-back, but it will be a most ephemeral one. The tide is with us, and no backwash can prevent the onward course of our ship.

The New Education of Children

One of the old traditions that is fast going by the boards is that the present method of teaching children is a good one.

It is generally recognised now that the result of the ordinary free public school course in America is to destroy the child's health, and what is more important his individuality.

The learning the child acquires is a mere nothing; not that the subjects "taught" are not numerous enough, but the method of teaching is so bad.

The December "McClure's" article, from which we quote in another column, upon the Montessori Method which is being introduced in the Italian and Swiss schools is most suggestive. The author will undoubtedly work a revolution in teaching young children.

A Republican Organ on Roosevelt and Taft

From "New York Press"

When we consider the source of the following editorial, it is rather amusing. With both Taft and Roosevelt out of the race, I suppose the "Press" will be reduced to La Follette. But then La Follette is for Regulation, too :—

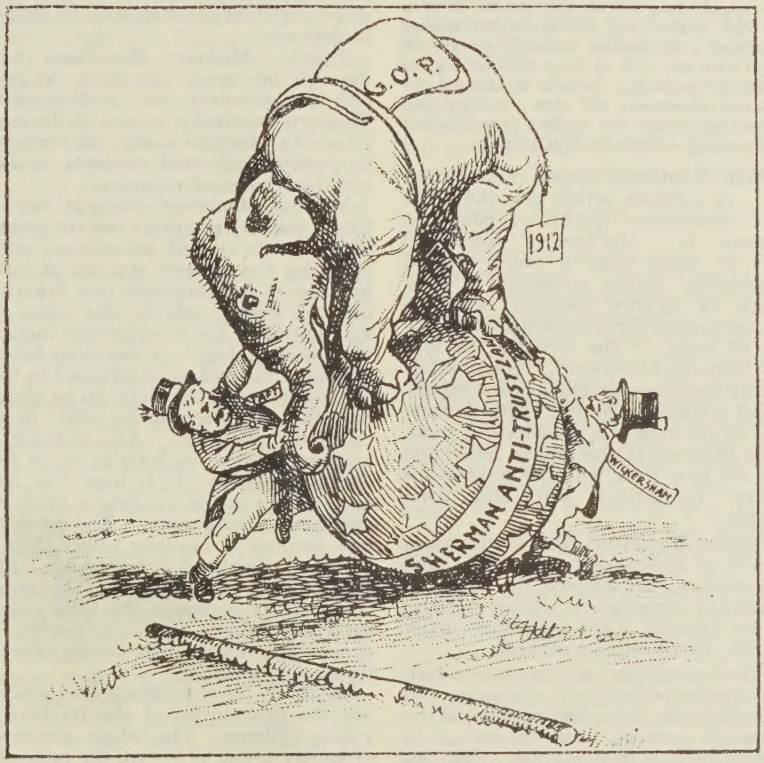
But Theodore Roosevelt is to blame as much as anybody else, because this way of dealing with the Trusts is a failure. It is a policy begun by Mr. Roosevelt himself. The Tobacco Trust farce is no worse than the Northern Securities farce, and it was Mr. Roosevelt who began the Northern Securities suit. Nobody doubts that the "reorganisation" of Standard Oil is as sickening a fake as the "dissolution" of the Tobacco Trust. And it was Theodore Roosevelt's Attorney General, William H. Moody, who began the proceedings against the Standard Oil Company which resulted in the recent decree, and which will turn out the same way as the Tobacco Trust case.

President Taft simply kept alive the suits started by President Roosevelt. He followed Roosevelt's policy in the new suits. And it is the general policy begun by Roosevelt and followed by Taft that is wrong. Nothing but failure could come out of pursuing the joint policy of Roosevelt and Taft toward the Trusts.

Because President Roosevelt did not deal with trade conspiracies as crimes and send the law-breakers to gaol, his attack on the Trusts was just as much a failure as President Taft's is a failure for the same reason.

There is some ground for the opinion that to-day Mr. Taft's predecessor is no more Progressive than himself. Mr. Roosevelt boldly proclaims belief in the Socialistic program to the extent of Government control of prices of monopolised products. He offers no other remedy as a substitute for the nostrums administered by himself and his successor. And in proposing Government control of prices he adopts a program favored not only by the Socialists but by the monopolists too. Possibly this is what the American people want. Perhaps they have abandoned hope of restoring competition.

Maybe the American public has turned reactionary, and will follow Mr. Roosevelt now just as devotedly as it followed him when he posed as a Progressive. But if the American people turn back to Roosevelt they can hardly accept him as a Progressive when he is nearer a Socialist than a champion of free competition. On his record as President there is even less hope of smashing the Trusts with Roosevelt again in the White House than there is from President Taft. Yet it may be, as we have said, that Mr. Roosevelt is right in thinking that the American people no longer want to smash the Trusts, and that in bravely proclaiming a belief which he has hitherto expressed in deeds and belied only in words, he once more seeks to justify his claim to the title of ablest politician of his time.



HARD JOB TO KEEP HIM ON.—Hamilton in "Judge."

I might say that the "Press" is quite wrong when it thinks that the Socialists wish the Trusts regulated. They know that regulation is as great buncombe as is destruction.

It is now up to the "Press" to develop a Republican candidate of its own, with a program that will suit the people. I challenge it.

The Montessori Schools in Rome

The Revolutionary Educational Work of Maria Montessori as Carried Out in Her Own Schools

By JOSEPHINE TOZIER

(An excerpt from " McClure's Magazine " for December.)

[*Four years ago, Maria Montessori, an Italian physician and educator, opened the first " House of Childhood "* (Casa dei Bambini) *in Rome, and began to apply her revolutionary methods of education to the teaching of little children. Her work has set on foot a new educational movement that is not only transforming the schools of Italy, but is making rapid progress in other countries In June, 1911, Switzerland passed a law establishing the Montessori system in all its public schools. Two model schools were opened in Paris this September, one of them under the direction of the daughter of the French Minister to Italy, who has studied with Montessori in Rome. Preparations are being made to establish Montessori schools this year in England, India, China, Mexico, Corea, Argentine Republic, and Honolulu. In the United States schools have already been started in New York and Boston, and Montessori has received applications from teachers in nearly every State in the Union who wish to study with her in order to apply her methods. To meet the demand for instruction, Montessori will open a training class in Rome this winter for teachers from England and America.*]—NOTE BY McCLURE'S.

THE Montessori system of education (a previous article describing the Montessori system of education appeared in " McClure's " for May, 1911) is more than a mere method of teaching young children: it is a branch of applied modern science—directed toward the development of a new race of men. " The external world," says Madame Montessori, " transformed by the tremendous development of experimental science in the last century, must have as its master a transformed man. If the progress of the human individual does not keep pace with the progress of science, civilisation will find itself checked."

Madame Montessori, who is an anthropologist of European reputation as well as a teacher, has adopted the inductive methods of experimental science to insure the development of the individual, under freedom, to his highest capacity.

" The conception of freedom which must inspire pedagogy," she says, " is that which the biological sciences of the nineteenth century have shown us in their methods of studying life. The old-time pedagogy was incompetent and vague, because it did not understand the principles of studying the pupil before educating him, and of leaving him free for spontaneous manifestations. Such an attitude has been rendered possible and practical only through the contribution of the experimental sciences of the last century."

The methods of this new system of pedagogy are exactly the same as are adopted by all modern investigators in the field of biology.

In the first place, Madame Montessori tries to give the child an environment that liberates his personality; she places him in an atmosphere where there are no restraints, where there is no opposition, nothing to make him perverse or self-conscious, or to put him on the defensive. His personality is thus liberated into free action, and the thing he is expresses itself.

Secondly, by her system of sense training she develops in the child a sense of his relation to his material surroundings and a facility in accommodating himself to them. As a result of the sense training, he learns to manage his body deftly, to walk without stumbling, to carry without dropping, to touch objects delicately and surely—in short, to move among the material things that surround him, whatever they may be, with ease and freedom, and with the least possible fret and wear to his spirit and to his body. Every element of embarrassment and self-consciousness is overcome, and he inevitably prefers harmonious action to the discord by which the untrained and awkward child so often tries to hide his inadeptness.

Thirdly, Madame Montessori tries, through her sense education, to reach and to stimulate the intellect itself. Through the child's interest in the materials with which he works, she leads him to purely intellectual concepts of form and the relation of numbers.

Madame Montessori starts all her system of primary training from the premise of independence and self-reliance which underlies the modern practice of infant hygiene—a comparatively new branch of medical science which, she says, has sprung out of the experimental methods of modern biology. A new-born baby is no longer allowed to be wrapped in folds of woollen or cotton cloth, to be shaken or patted into sleep, to be talked to and constantly handled. Its clothing is arranged to give its body as much freedom as possible. It is kept free from excitement, and is no longer made the plaything of its parents. The nurse has now become an observer rather than an arbitrary personage imposing her authority upon a helpless charge. The nurse's first duty is to watch the little animal grow; her second duty is to prevent the expenditure of energy by useless effort on the part of the child.

And these, Madame Montessori believes, are the first duties of the teachers of young children. The whole movement of society to-day is toward the protection of a child's individuality. Formerly, in hospitals, orphan asylums, and children's homes, the effort was to protect the child's life merely—to prevent infant mortality and to conserve so many living human organisms to society. But society is beginning to realise that it may have succeeded in preserving the living human organism and still have lost something that might have been infinitely valuable to the world. In other words, we have begun to give protection to the potential individual which is in every child's body—to keep it away from those things that would distort and destroy it, or force it into any given mould. We are trying to insure this individuality a chance to reveal itself, rare or commonplace, whatever it may be.

The protection of this individuality, then, is the foremost duty of the nurse in the first instance, and of the teacher in the second.

The most thoughtful modern teachers in America will find in the Montessori system all their best ideas reduced to scientific simplicity and precision. Dr. Montessori's chapter on discipline, one of the most important in her book, may be given briefly as follows :—

" Discipline through liberty. Here is a principle difficult for the followers of the common-school methods to understand. How shall one attain discipline in a class of free children? Certainly, in our system, we have a different conception of what discipline is. If the discipline be founded upon liberty, it (the discipline) must be *active*. We do not call an individual disciplined only when he is rendered artificially silent as a mute and immovable as a paralytic. Such an individual is *annihilated* not *disciplined*.

" We call an individual disciplined when he is master of himself, and can, therefore, regulate his own conduct when it shall be necessary to follow some rule of life.

" Such a concept of *active discipline* is not easy either to comprehend or to attain; but certainly it contains a great educational principle, and is very different from the absolute coercion to immobility.

" A special technique is necessary to the teacher if she is to lead the child along such a road of discipline, if she is to make it possible for him to continue in this way all his life, advancing always toward perfect self-mastery. Since the child now learns to move rather than to sit still, he prepares himself, not for the school, but for life; for he becomes able, through habit and through practice, to perform easily and correctly the simple acts of social or community life. The discipline to which the child habituates himself here is, in its character, not limited to the school environment, but extends to society.

" The liberty of the pupil must have as its *limit* the collective interests; as its *form*, that education of acts and manners universally considered good breeding. We must, then, check in the child whatever offends or annoys others, or whatever tends toward coarse or ill-bred behavior. But all the rest—every manifestation having a useful scope, whatever it be and in whatever form expressed—must not only be permitted, but must be *observed* by the teacher. Here lies the essential point. From her preparation the teacher should bring not only the ability to observe natural phenomena, but an interest in doing so. She, in our system, must be a *paziente* (patient one), passive much more than active; and her patience shall be composed of scientific curiosity, and of absolute *respect* toward the phenomenon that she wishes to observe. The teacher must understand and feel her position of observer; the activity must lie in the phenomenon.

" Such principles surely have a place in schools for little children who are exhibiting the first spiritual and mental manifestations of their lives. We cannot know the consequences of suffocating a *spontaneous action* when the child

is just beginning to act; perhaps we suffocate life itself. We must respect religiously, reverently, these first indications of individuality; asd, if any educational act is to be efficacious, it will be only that which tends to help toward the complete unfolding of the inner life of the child. To be thus helpful, it is necessary rigorously to avoid the *arrest of spontaneous movements* and the imposition of *purely arbitrary tasks*. It is, of course, understood that here we do not refer to useless or dangerous actions, for these must be suffocated—destroyed.

" The training of teachers not prepared for scientific observation, or perhaps trained in the old imperialistic methods of the public schools, has convinced me of the great distance between those methods and this. Even an intelligent teacher who understands the principle finds much difficulty in putting it into practice. She cannot understand that her task is apparently *passive*, like that of the astronomer who sits immovable before the telescope while the worlds whirl through space. This idea that life *acts of itself*, and that to study it, to divine its secrets, or to direct its activity, it is necessary to observe it, and to come to know it without intervening, is very difficult to grasp. The teacher has too thoroughly learned to be the one free activity of the school, for too long it has been virtually her duty to suffocate the activity of the pupils. If, in her first days in a Casa dei Bambini, she does not obtain order and silence, she looks about abashed, as if calling the bystanders to witness her innocence; in vain we repeat to her that the disorder of the first moment is necessary. When she is obliged to do nothing but *watch*, she asks if she had not better resign, since she is no longer a teacher. But when she begins to find it her duty to discern which acts of the child she ought to hinder and which she ought to observe, then the teacher of the old school feels a great lack in herself, and begins to ask if she will not be quite inadequate to her task. In fact, she who is unprepared finds herself for a long time abashed or impotent, while the broader the scientific culture and the practice in experimentation of a teacher, the sooner will come for her the marvel of unfolding life and her interest in it.

" In those first days of training my teachers, I saw the dangers of blind intervention in the children's activities. These teachers almost involuntarily recalled the children to immobility, without *observing* and *distinguishing* the nature of the movements that they repressed. There was, for example, a little girl who gathered her companions about her, and then, in the midst of them, began to talk and gesticulate. The teacher at once ran to her, took hold of her arms, and told her to be still; but I, observing the child, saw that she was playing at being teacher or mother to the others, and was teaching them the morning prayer, the invocation to the saints, and the sign of the cross; she already showed herself as a *director*. Another child, who continually made disorganised and misdirected movements, and who was considered abnormal, one day, with an expression of intense attention, set about moving the tables. Instantly they were upon him to make him stand still because he made too much noise. Yet this was one of the *first manifestations*, in this child, of *movements* that were *co-ordinated* and *directed toward a useful end*, and it was therefore an action that should have been respected. In fact, after this the child began to be quiet and happy like the others whenever he had any small objects to move about and to arrange upon his desk.

" It often happened that, while the directress replaced in the boxes various materials that had been used, a child would draw near, picking up the objects, with the evident desire of imitating the teacher. The first impulse was to send the child back to her place, with the remark, 'Let it alone; go to your seat.' Yet the child expressed by this act a desire to be useful."

Madame Montessori here gives an illustration of a little girl of two and a-half who, finding that she could not see either under the legs or over the heads of the other children, who were crowded about a basin of floating toys, stood for a moment in deep thought; then, with her face alight with interest, ran toward a little chair, with the evident intention of placing it so that she might see over the heads of her friends. Just at this moment she was spied by a young teacher, who, before Montessori could prevent, seized the baby, and, lifting her up so that she could see above the heads of the others, cried: " Come, dear, come, poor little one, you shall see, too." Montessori says :—

" Certainly the child, seeing the toys, experienced no such joy as that she felt in overcoming the obstacle with her own powers. The teacher prevented the child from educating itself without bringing to it any compensating good. She had been about to feel herself a victor, and instead she found herself held fast in two imprisoning arms, an impotent.

The habits of order, the interest, and the sense of the importance of the work in hand, which is always found in the Montessori classes, is illustrated here by the following circumstance. On a day of great excitement, when Queen Margherita visited one of the schools, she asked a little girl, who was engaged in putting in order a box of cut-out letters, to spell some words for her. The child made no reply, but went on calmly dropping each letter into its own compartment. An older person, standing near, horrified at the child's indifference, exclaimed :—

" But, Rosa, you must pay attention! This is the Queen! "

" I know that," the child answered respectfully. " But the Queen knows that, before I begin to spell, I must first finish my work of putting the alphabet in order."

In her January article in " McClure's " Miss Tozier will describe in detail the Montessori educational apparatus, and will show what is accomplished with each toy. Arrangements have been completed for the manufacture and sale of this apparatus by the House of Childhood, 606 Flatiron Building, New York City, under the management of Mr. Carl Byoir. The manufacturers of the apparatus hope to place the material within the reach of parents and educators by the first of January. Dr. Montessori's representative in this country will collaborate in the preparation of a book of instructions and suggestions which will be sold with each set of the apparatus.

"Collier's Weekly" on the P.O.

" Importance, if nothing else, is attributed by Frank Hitchcock to his own position. Congress exists. He has it on his hands. But he can outwit it, unless the courts interfere, or unless Congress becomes even more explicit. After the House of Representatives last winter refused to be used as a club to punish muckraking, by raising second-class rates without any expert investigation of costs, Frank conceived the device of accomplishing his end by the extension of his own powers.

" Socrates : When Congress created four classes of mail, did it not intend to have the various components of any one class treated alike?

" Frank : I don't know what it intended.

" Socrates : Do you conceive that if you chose to send postcards by slow freight you would be justified in taking that step?

" Frank : I do.

" Socrates : Why would you object to an investigation of costs by expert accountants?

" Frank : You don't understand politics.

" Socrates : May I quote again, even if it produce anachronism, 'arithmetic is the mother of the sciences and the basis of safety?'

" Frank : You may quote anything you like.

" Hitchcock's exceptions are diverting beyond measure. 'The Review of Reviews,' to which time is important, as it handles news, is not excepted, but 'The American Brewer, 'Bonfort's Wine and Spirit Circular,' and 'The Brewers' Journal' are excepted. We have the greatest respect for 'The Invited Guest,' but are not sure that it, 'The Evening Sky Map,' 'Olive Trees,' 'The Soda Fountain,' and 'Toilettes' need this special exception any more than it is needed by 'The World's Work.' Hitchcock's list is a joke. He has not come to the weeklies yet, but when he does we imagine that 'The Outlook' and 'The Literary Digest,' which need to keep up as far as possible to the hour, will be delivered five days later on the Pacific Coast, while 'Pick-Me-Up,' 'Welcome,' and 'The Household Realm' will be delivered promptly on time. If the head of the Post Office Department were a business man and not a politician, he would encourage Congress to appoint a joint committee with powers to look into this vast business organisation in the same way that a big modern private business proceeds when it wishes to discover how it can reduce costs or increase efficiency."

Note.—When the P.O. was persecuting "Wilshire's," "Collier's" joined in the pack.—G. W.

It's Up to You, Mr. President

"The Commoner"

Well, it is up to you now, Mr. President. You have been challenging Mr. Bryan to name a case that cannot be prosecuted just as well under the new construction as under the anti-Trust law as formerly construed. Mr. Bryan has named five cases, the Standard Oil Case, the Tobacco Case, the Steel Trust Case, the Traffic Case, and the Merger Case. You would not discuss these; but we now have a case in which you must act

upon. The packers asked for a writ of habeas corpus, on the ground that a law which prohibits only unreasonable restraint of trade cannot be enforced criminally, because no one can tell what a Court or jury would declare to be unreasonable. The packers say :—

"The alleged criminality of the alleged transactions complained of in the indictments will depend entirely upon a particular jury's view of the reasonableness or unreasonableness of the particular case; it will depend not on any standard erected by the law which may be known in advance, but on one that may be created by the whim, prejudice or arbitrary views of a jury.

"There is no set standard fixed or attempted to be fixed to guide the citizen to a knowledge of his guilt or innocence of an offence charged before been adjudicated.

"The Act violates the amendment to the constitution of the United States, which requires that petitioners severally shall be informed of the nature and cause of the accusations."

The Supreme Court has already held substantially as the packers claim, and Justice Harlan and the Judiciary Committee of the Senate took the same position in opposing the insertion of the word unreasonable in the law. You have contended, Mr. President, that the law was improved by the insertion of the word unreasonable; now that the matter will sooner or later get before the Supreme Court on this point we shall see what the law is worth as a criminal statute. The only trouble is that the final decision may not be rendered until after the next election. Can you hurry this case up and get a decision at once? Push the prosecution and let us know whether a man can be punished for doing an unreasonable thing with criminal intent when there is no definition of unreasonableness.

Down with the Manchus

Arthur Diosy in the "Contemporary Review"

The war-cry of the Revolutionaries is "Down with the Manchu!" but it would be an error to suppose that racial hatred alone inspires them; although it burns fiercely in the hearts of many of the rank and file, it has no place in the minds of the leaders, who are ready to admit the Manchu to his full share of citizenship in the New China they are striving to create. It is his privileged position they are determined to abolish; the annual dole of rice to which he is entitled, as a descendant of the conquerors, may be but a paltry item in the national budget, the fact that he performs no real service to the State in return for it rankles in the hearts of the Chinese people, amongst whom the Manchus have been so long quartered as an alien garrison but a garrison that has lost its efficiency retaining only the outward forms of mediæval military conditions. . . . . It is the system to which the Manchu dynasty has, in course of time, become inseparably wedded that must go if China is ever to breathe freely. Of this the revolutionaries are convinced; moreover, they firmly believe that the system cannot go unless the Manchu dynasty goes with it.

It is the firm resolve of the revolutionaries to establish the United States of China, a conception of the fertile brain of the Mazzini of China, Sun Yat Sen. . . . . The revolutionaries, influenced, no doubt, by the numbers amongst them who have studied in America, have taken the Constitution of the United States as their model, with this important exception, that their sound common sense has made them determined to avoid the glaring defects in that antiquated, inelastic charter.

The McNamara Confession

"Justice," London

It is very generally assumed and stated that the confession of the brothers MacNamara to having committed the outrage at Los Angeles, and their condemnation therefore, must inflict a terrible blow upon the Socialist Party, and the organised working-class generally, of the United States. Why this should be we are at a loss to understand. The MacNamaras were in no wise connected with the Socialist Party, and although they were trade union officials the working-class organisations generally, as well as the Socialist Party, who took up their defence only did so on the assumption that they were innocent. That their confession of guilt should cast any reflection upon those whose sole aim was to prevent innocent men being made the victims of a travesty of justice, of venal judges, suborned witnesses, and a corrupt jury is inconceivable. Had the organisations which were supporting these men acknowledged their guilt, and been seeking to secure their acquittal on purely technical grounds, it would have been another matter. As it is, we cannot see that any reflection whatever is cast upon them; except, may be, for a too simple faith in the innocence of the criminals. For ourselves, with only such means of forming a judgment as were afforded by the newspapers, we were by no means so assured of the innocence of the MacNamaras as our American comrades appeared to be. We maintained, however, that they were entitled to a fair trial and to the presumption of their innocence until they had been proved guilty. To their confession we attach little importance.

To Labor

Shall you complain who feed the world?
Who clothe the world?
Who house the world?
Shall you complain who are the world,
Of what the world may do?
As from this hour
You use your power,
The world must follow you.
The world's life hangs on your right hand,
Your strong right hand,
Your skilled right hand;
You hold the whole world in your hand—
See to it what you do!
Or dark or light,
Or wrong or right,
The world is made by you!
Then rise as you ne'er rose before,
Nor hoped before,
Nor dared before,
And show as ne'er was shown before,
The power that lies in you!
Stand all as one
Till right is done!
Believe and dare and do!

—Charlotte Perkins Gilman, in the New York "Evening Mail."

Settle this Problem Rightly

"La Follette's Magazine"

"Government-owned railroads and Government-leased coal lands is the only solution of the coal problem in Alaska. That is the substance of a splendid article in 'Collier's' for October 7, by Frederick H. Chase. Says Mr. Chase :—

"'The railroad and coal questions in Alaska of necessity become as one. It is so to-day in the United States proper, and always has been.'

"Mr. Chase begins his article with an excellent summary of the ownership and operation of railways throughout the world, showing that—

"'Government ownership of railroads is operated in four-fifths of the nations of the world. Forty-six out of fifty of the great Powers are committed to it, to a greater or less extent. Of the fifty countries above referred to, thirty-two own and operate nearly the entire railroad mileage.'

"Coming nearer home, he points out that—

"'Our Government owns and operates the Panama Railroad and operates it well. It also built and it operates the Alaskan telegraph lines, which, when divested of military red tape, at once became a successful Government-owned public utility. We are building the Panama Canal to benefit the world at large, and yet hesitate to build a railroad in Alaska to prevent our reserve coal supply from going forever into the hands of a group of greedy capitalists.'

"Government railroads in Alaska, coupled with the leasing of the coal lands, Mr. Chase concludes, will accomplish the following results :—

"First: Solve the perplexities of the coal question with finality;

"Second: Insure reasonable freight rates, with a corresponding development and productiveness of immense areas of low-grade deposits;

"Third: There will be thousands of individual miners and operators, instead of one company or group of capitalists who do not even live in Alaska, in control;

"Fourth: Conserve the coal to the nation as a whole.

"Fifth: Furnish plenty of cheap fuel as an inducement to the establishment of permanent homes.

"This program is embodied in a resolution now before Congress. It was submitted during the closing days of the last session by Senator La Follette. The problem in Alaska will never be settled until it is settled rightly. Congress has an opportunity to dispose of it now and for all time by adopting a constructive program for the development of Alaska's resources that will absolutely prevent those resources from falling either into the possession of private monopoly or under the domination of private monopoly through its control of transportation. By preventing monopolistic control at the outset Congress will spare the country from the travail of settling at a future time a 'trust problem' in Alaska. Our own experience in Pennsylvania affords a striking object-lesson. Congress should not let it pass unheeded."

There seem to have been touching scenes at the election of Senator Stephenson.—"Boston Transcript."

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